

6. PRONOUNS

6.1. *Personal Pronouns and other Forms of Address in Child Language Acquisition*

6.1.1. In natural adult language the grammatical case of address is the vocative case; other contexts usually require the use of personal pronouns. One of the most interesting and universal phenomena in child language is so-called *self-reference*. This term denotes specifically a child referring to herself/himself by her/his own name, e.g., *Rūtytė čia sėdi* ‘Rūtytė is sitting here’; *Rūtytės lėlytė* ‘Rūtytė’s doll:DIM’ (uttered by Rūta); *mamytė duos Rūtytei* ‘Mother will give (something) to Rūtytė’ (Mother’s utterance). The type of linguistic model under discussion is usually introduced by mothers. This is determined by the fact that mothers very often address their children by names. On the other hand, referring to themselves, mothers use the word *mama* ‘mother’, and not the personal pronoun *aš* ‘I’. Adults are eager to help children to become aware of themselves as opposed to other people. Data from different languages suggest that self-references are very common in both adult and child language up to the age of three. In later phases the use of pronouns becomes noticeably frequent.

Both Rūta’s and Mother’s language displays a great number of self/other-referential items. It is due to this fact that Rūta did not use pronouns for quite a long time; they actually became more common only around the period of 2;2.

6.1.2. In this section we are going to look at to what extent nouns (including pseudonyms) and pronouns are used by Rūta and her mother. The nouns *Mother* and *Rūta* appear in different grammatical cases, e.g., *Rūtytė eina* ‘Rūtytė:NOM is going’, *Rūtytės mamytė* ‘Rūtytė’s:GEN mummy:NOM’, *Rūtytei reikia* ‘Rūtytė:DAT needs’, *Rūtytę myli* ‘Rūtytė:ACC is loved’ (Rūta is talking about herself); *mamytė pasakys* ‘Mummy:NOM will tell’, *mamytės dukrytė* ‘Mummy:GEN daughter:DIM:NOM’, *mamytei skauda* ‘Mummy:DAT it hurts’, *mamytę myli* ‘Mummy:ACC is loved’ (Mother is talking about herself). In our analysis we will therefore concentrate on the total number of occurrences of the nouns *Rūt-*, *mam-*,²²

²² The forms *Rūt-* and *mam-* stand for the roots of the corresponding nouns. This type of marking encompasses both, diminutive forms such as *Rūtytė*,

on the one hand, and the ratio of corresponding pronouns, on the other. The target items are *aš/Rūtytė* ‘I/Rūtytė’, *tu/mamytė* ‘you/Mummy’ – *aš/mamytė* ‘I/Mummy’, *tu/Rūtytė* ‘you/Rūtytė’ (the nominative case). In addition to frequency distributions, the pattern of acquisition and use of personal pronouns will be presented.

6.2. The Pronoun in Modern Lithuanian

6.2.1. *A Grammar of Modern Lithuanian* defines the pronoun as an spontaneous part of speech which includes words of general meaning referring to things or qualities (Ambrazas et al. 1997). In terms of its morphological properties, the pronoun shares them with the basic word classes of nouns and adjectives (Rosinas 1996).

According to the type of reference, pronouns in Lithuanian fall into several semantic classes: personal, demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative and relative.

6.2.2. Our principal concern here is limited to personal pronouns; this class of pronouns refers to persons according to their involvement in the to speech act. Thus the 1st and 2nd person pronouns *aš* ‘I’ and *tu* ‘you’ refer to the participants of the speech act. The pronouns *aš* ‘I’ and *tu* ‘you’ enter into the following opposition: *aš* ‘I’ refers to the speaker, or the addresser, whereas *tu* ‘you’ refers to the addressee; *jis* ‘he’ and *ji* ‘she’ refer to persons and things spoken about, that is, people who are not directly involved in the speech act (cf. Benveniste 1971).

We can therefore define the difference of personal pronouns with respect to the act of ‘participation’; thus the pronouns *aš* ‘I’ and *tu* ‘you’ can be termed *participational* pronouns. The pronouns *jis* ‘he’ and *ji* ‘she’ exhibit the property of ‘non-participation’ and can be called *non-participational* pronouns (Benveniste 1971, Rosinas 1988).

6.3. The Use of Participational Pronouns and their Substitutes in Rūta’s and Mother’s Speech

The plural form of personal pronouns is very rare in dialogues. We will therefore limit our discussion to the participational pronouns *aš* ‘I’ and *tu* ‘you’.

Rūtelė, Rūtulė; mamytė, etc., as well as neutral forms, e.g., *Rūta, mama* ‘Mother’.

6.3.1. The nominative. It has been mentioned before that the nominative case appears fairly frequently in both Rūta's and her mother's speech. The two most common lemmas are *mam-* and *Rūt-*; the nominative case of these forms makes up half of all other forms. *Rūt-* in Mother's data appears in 1300 tokens, almost 600 of them are in nominative; *mam-* appears 600 times, 319 tokens in nominative. Rūta produces approximately 500 tokens of *Rūt-*, and the nominative case makes up 297 instances. *Mam-*, on the other hand, is used around 600 times, 169 tokens are in the nominative.

The distribution of pronouns and self/other-referential items (the nouns *Rūt-* and *mam-*) is displayed in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

Table 6.1: The distribution of the nominative singular forms *aš/Rūt-*; *tu/mam-* in Rūta's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
<i>aš</i> 'I'	-	1	3	5	4	2	13	86	122	122	144	502
<i>Rūt-</i>	5	2	36	26	37	33	22	24	65	25	22	297
<i>tu</i> 'you'	-	1	3	2	5	4	5	12	11	22	18	83
<i>mam-</i>	1	19	40	27	9	13	17	7	14	17	6	170

Table 6.2: The distribution of the nominative singular forms *aš/mam-*; *tu/Rūt-* in Mother's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
<i>aš</i> 'I'	1	6	28	21	15	8	19	26	22	9	35	190
<i>mam-</i>	4	28	42	55	18	27	12	32	42	33	27	320
<i>tu</i> 'you'	28	57	180	137	60	86	48	92	114	68	104	974
<i>Rūt-</i>	26	49	116	84	52	74	32	42	62	32	30	599

The comparison of Rūta's and Mother's usage of these lemmas (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2) shows certain differences as well as some similarities. We can notice enormous increase at 1;9 of self/other-reference, which is 11,7% of all Sg. Nom. nouns. Thus this is one more indication of protomorphology. The considerable differences in Rūta's speech are observed during the 2;2 period; it is at this particular time that Rūta starts using the personal pronouns *aš* 'I' and *tu* 'you' most often. Up to this period the girl used to refer to herself as *aš* 'I' approximately 4 times per month, whereas starting from the period of 2;1 the use of the pronoun rose to 13 tokens, and in a month's time it reached the frequency of 86 tokens. With respect to the use of self-referential items, the tendency remained the same; on the average, the girl used her own name 30 times

per month, and during the period of 2;3 it even rose up to 65 tokens. It is noteworthy, however, that the use of personal pronouns has considerably increased. The number of the personal pronoun *tu* 'you' increases at the same time period (2;2); nevertheless, it is not as common as the use of *aš* 'I'. The frequent appearance of the latter pronoun is in accord with the special communicative function that this pronoun is assigned to perform in the speech act (Bühler 1934). This is due to the fact that the speaker is regarded as the central element in the act of communication.

In Mother's speech no special changes in the use of one item or the other were attested. It is possible, however, to distinguish two periods which exhibit quite frequent use of *aš* 'I' / *Rūta* -: this tendency was noticed within the 1;9-1;10 and 2;2-2;3. The first period of the increased occurrences can be related to a considerable expansion of Rūta's lexicon. As the number of new words increases, there appear more topics for discussions, and Mother is anxious to involve the daughter into a proper dialogue. The second period coincides with the attested increase of the use of personal pronouns in Rūta's speech. We could conclude that the communication of the type *aš* 'I' – *tu* 'you' starts during the 2;2-2;3 period. Consider the relevant examples below:

M: *Ar Rūtytė valgė?* 'Has Rūtytė eaten yet?'

R: *Rūtytė.* (2;2)

M: *Kas Rūtytę sušukavo?* 'Who has combed Rūtytė?'

R: *Mamytė.* 'Mummy' (2;3)

Starting with the age of 2;2 utterances with self-references become less frequent and they are replaced by the following patterns:

M: *Tu padarei?* 'Did you do that?'

R: *Aš.* 'I' (2;2)

A similar linguistic behaviour in mother-child dialogues is attested in Latvian as well (see Rūķe-Draviņa 1982). Dainis (investigated child) used the personal pronoun 'I' for the first time at the age of 1;9; 'you' appears only at the age of 2;0. Compared with Rūta, the boy starts to use pronouns later; however, Dainis has already fully acquired these pronouns by the period of 2;3-2;4 and makes frequent use of them. As is the case with Rūta, the boy often addresses himself and his mother by using self/other-references.

Data from Russian (Gvozdev 1949) suggest that a child may begin to use personal pronouns even later, at the age of 2;0. Interesting data

come from Greek: children acquire personal pronouns rather early, i.e., at 1;10 period. What differs most in this respect is the fact that in contrast to data from other languages, Greek children start using all personal pronouns at the same time, the most frequent of which is the 3rd person pronoun (Stephany 1997b). In her analysis of the data from German, Mills (1985: 230) posits three basic contrasts in the defining meaning of personal pronouns: *singular/nonsingular*, *speaker/nonspeaker*, and *proximal/nonproximal*. Moreover, she proposes a hypothesis to the effect that the first, unmarked members of the respective oppositions are acquired by children in the first place. Data on Lithuanian and other languages corroborate this hypothesis. There is enough evidence to maintain that the singular form of personal pronouns appears in child language earlier than the plural, and that the 1st person singular form *aš* 'I' is acquired earlier than the 2nd form *tu* 'you'

6.3.2. The reason why it is not easy for children to acquire pronouns at an early age can be explained by the semantic complexity of this word class. It is difficult for them to grasp the pattern of how the meaning of a pronoun changes with respect to who is using the pronoun. A child generally uses names and pronouns in the same linguistic situation. Children apply the same rule of repetition in both cases – they simply repeat words used by adults. It is therefore in such situations that errors in the use of pronouns appear. Some relevant examples are adduced below:

M: *Tu padarei?* 'Did you do that?'

M: *Ne Rūtelė?* 'Was it not Rūtelė?'

R: *Atelė.* 'Rūtelė'.

M: *Tu padarei?* 'Did you do that?'

R: *Tu* (← *aš*). 'You' (← 'I').

M: *Tikrai?* 'Really?'

R: *Ūta.* 'Rūta'. (1;10)

Errors in the use of *aš* 'I' / *tu* 'you' opposition are noticed not only in the speech of Lithuanian children, they are also attested in Latvian (Rūķe-Draviņa 1982) and Russian (Gvozdev 1949). It is noteworthy that this tendency is observed in such typologically unrelated languages as, Italian (Clark 1985) or Hebrew (Berman 1985). It seems that the pattern of the use of *aš* 'I' versus *tu* 'you' as well as the mixing up of different meanings of personal pronouns in question are universal phenomena in early child language acquisition. However, Schieffelin (1986) adduces a counter-example from Kaluli (spoken in Papua New Guinea). Even at an early age Kaluli children refer to themselves by using a correct form of a personal pronoun, that of the 1st person singular. This is due

to the fact that adults never address their children by their names; moreover, they never refer to themselves otherwise than by using the 1st person forms of personal pronouns. Mothers which speak other languages, when addressing their children by both the name and the personal pronoun, put them into the situation which can be defined as ‘many forms for one function’. Because of that, children often prefer their name, which can be appropriately used in different context, to the different substitute forms, such as the personal pronouns *I – you*, which have to be used indexically according to the speech situation (Schieffelin 1986: 555).

6.3.2. The genitive. Possessive noun-modifying forms of participational pronouns are classified as genitives of personal pronouns (Ambrazas et al. 1997, Rosinas 1996). Two separate genitive singular forms of personal pronouns are distinguished in modern Lithuanian: *manęs/mano* ‘my, mine’ and *tavęs/tavo* ‘your’²³; the two forms differ in terms of the form they take and the meaning they express. Žulys (1969) notes that the two genitive forms of the pronouns enter into a two-member opposition. The common name for this opposition is ‘the genitive’, while the members involved express the contrast of possession (*mano* ‘my’ and *tavo* ‘your’) as opposed to the non-possessive meaning rendered by *manęs* ‘myself, me’ and *tavęs* ‘you’.

The non-possessive, non-adnominal genitive forms of the pronouns are very rare in the data. Mother has used the form *manęs* ‘me’ only 3 times (*nepažįsti manęs* ‘you don’t know me’, *prie manęs stovėk* ‘stay close to me’ and *neklausysi manęs* ‘are you going not to listen to me’). In the girl’s speech it appears only once, in *neklauso manęs* ‘somebody doesn’t listen to me’ (2;3).

The form *tavęs* ‘you’ is more frequent in Mother’s speech (20 tokens), as in adverbial *pasiilgau tavęs* ‘I’ve missed you’, *nematau tavęs* ‘I can’t see you’, *nėra tavęs* ‘you are not here’, etc. The form is not attested in Rūta’s speech at all.

The possessive genitive forms *mano* ‘my’ and *tavo* ‘your’ are much more frequent in both Mother’s and Rūta’s speech (see Tables 6.3 and 6.4). Up to the age of 2;0 the use of these pronouns almost equals the frequency of the pronouns *aš* ‘I’ and *tu* ‘you’. Other grammatical cases of pronouns in the same period are very rare.

²³ There are adjectival possessive pronouns *manas*, *tavas* but these forms do not occur either in Mother’s or the girl’s speech.

Table 6.3: The distribution of the genitive singular forms Rūt-/mano; mam-/tavo in Rūta's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
Rūt-	1	13	5	10	8	20	13	12	34	11	8	135
mano 'my'	4	4	4	2	1	-	2	1	12	20	29	79
mam-	2	3	1	1	8	7	3	4	8	2	2	41
tavo 'your'	3	11	3	3	1	1	4	1	3	5	3	38

Table 6.4: The distribution of the genitive singular forms mam-/mano; Rūt-/tavo in Mother's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
mam-	2	8	7	7	5	2	1	5	10	1	10	58
mano 'my'	4	7	5	3	3	10	3	1	9	3	10	58
Rūt-	6	18	11	16	6	16	15	7	17	9	10	131
tavo 'your'	10	12	45	41	14	20	10	24	37	19	22	254

The frequency of appearance of the genitive noun and pronoun forms suggest that up to the age of 2;4 the girl is apt to use a noun more often. Table 6.3 shows that at the age of 1;10, 1;11, 2;0 the child identifies *Rūtos*, *Rūtytės* as the genitive case form of *Rūt-* and thus prefers it over *mano* 'my/mine'. Similar to the use of the nominative *Rūt-* over *aš* 'I' (see Table 6.1). From the period of 2;3 onwards an increase in the use of the possessive genitive form *mano* 'my' is observed (from 3 up to 12 tokens per month); the rise in the pronoun use continues in later periods. During the last two months of the observation the number of occurrences decreases, whereas the use of the pronoun increases. The same tendency is observed with respect to the use of the pronoun *tavo* 'your': during the two last months the level of its occurrence in the girl's speech is considerably higher. The great number of tokens appeared at the age of 1;8 does not point to any special linguistic situation – they occur as repetitions of words uttered by Mother:

M: *Oi, žiūrėk, kas čia?* 'Here, look at that! What is it?'

R: *Mn, lialia.* 'Hm, doll'

M: *Tavo?* 'Is it yours?'

R: *Tavo* (←mano). 'Yours' (←mine).

M: *Kieno čia lėlytė, tavo?* 'Whose doll is it, yours?'

R: *Tavo* (←mano). 'Yours' (←mine).

M: *Rūtytės, taip?* ‘It’s Rūtytė’s, isn’t it?’

R: *Atytės*. ‘Rūtytės’. (1;8)

The pronoun *tavo* ‘your’ appears in Mother’s speech fairly often: the frequency of the pronoun form is actually twice as high as that of the noun. During the period of observation the situation remained stable in this respect. The same applies to the *mano* ‘my’/mam- forms; they exhibit a very similar pattern of usage because the ratio of the occurrences is approximately the same, with the difference of two or three tokens.

The data displayed in Table 6.3 show that Rūta started to produce possessive pronouns at the age of 1;7. It should be mentioned, however, that during this early period, as well as in later months (up to 2;3), the girl sometimes mixed the meanings of the pronouns under discussion. Such instances occur when Rūta is repeating her mother’s words:

M: *Rūtyte, ar čia tavo batai?* ‘Rūtytė:VOC, are these shoes yours?’

R: *Tavo* (←mano). ‘Yours’ (←mine).

M: *Ar mano batai?* ‘Are they my shoes?’

R: *Mano* (←tavo). ‘Mine’ (←yours).

M: *Tai kieno čia – tavo ar mano?* ‘Then whose are they, yours or mine?’

R: *Tavo* (←mano). ‘Yours’ (←mine). (1;7)

M: *Rūtyte, kieno mašinytė?* ‘Rūtyte, whose car:DIM is this?’

M: *Pasakyk, kieno?* ‘Tell me please, whose is it?’

R: *Mano*. ‘My’.

M: *Tavo?* ‘Yours?’

R: *Tavo* (←mano). ‘Yours’ (←mine). (1;7)

M: *Čia tavo batukai, taip?* ‘These are your shoes:DIM, aren’t they?’

R: *Tavo* (←mano). ‘Yours’ (←mine). (1;9)

M: *Tavo vaikas?* ‘Is it your child?’

R: *Tai bus tavo vaikas* (←mano). ‘This will be your child’ (←my).

M: *Ne tavo, sakyk, o mano vaikas bus*. ‘Don’t say ‘your’, say: ‘It will be my child’.

R: *Čia mano*. ‘It is mine’. (2;3)

During the entire period of observation the repetition of the girl’s own name is especially frequent. Thus at the age of 1;8, out of 18 tokens of the possessive genitive 13 instances represent the name *Rūta*, and the respective numbers in later periods are as follows: during the 2;0 period – 20 out of 60; during the 2;1 period – 12 out of 31; at the age of 2;3 the girl utters *Rūtytės* 33 times out of 76 instances. The frequent repetition of the name was influenced by Mother’s question *Ar čia Rūtytės?* ‘Does this belong to Rūtytė?’ The answer given by the girl would be *Rūtytės*. In later periods the girl also used the pronoun *mano* ‘mine/my’.

In Latvian, the possessive forms of personal pronouns appear around the period of 1;11, which is 3 months later than in Lithuanian; moreover, up to the age of 2;3 the use of personal pronouns is rather limited. During this period (almost the same applies to Lithuanian), the name *Daina* is more frequent even though the pronouns appear as well. The boy has also used the pronoun *tavo* 'your' once while showing the arm-chair to his mother: *tavs bus tas* 'this will be yours'.

Even later possessive pronouns appear in the speech of Russian children (Gvozdev 1949, Ceytlin 1997b): they were observed during the period of multi-word utterances. At the same time, children start using both the personal pronouns *I* and *you*, and the possessive forms *my* and *your*. It has been noticed that even children with well-developed language skills start using personal pronouns relatively late; in addition, this usage is often not correct. For example, *my* appears instead of *I*, as in *Mama, moja risuju* 'Look, Mummy, I am drawing' (Ceytlin 1997b: 57).

6.3.3. The accusative. The accusative of personal pronouns and participational nouns is not very common either in Rūta's or Mother's speech. As Table 6.5 shows, the girl begins to use the accusative form of the pronouns *mane* 'me' and *tave* 'you', as well as nouns marked accusative, more often only from the age of 2;1 onwards. However, the noun in the accusative appears more frequently. The form *mane* 'me' appears 9 times, while *tave* 'you' is used 7 times. The girl uses the nouns *Rūta* and *Mother* more often, thus the accusative of these nouns is uttered 17 times during the 1;9 period. Rūta answers her Mother's question *kā myli?* 'who do you love?' by saying *mamytē* 'mummy:ACC'; the girl repeats the same answer several times even though Mother is trying to coax a different answer:

M: *O kā dar myli?* 'And who else do you love?'

R: *Mamytē*. 'mummy:ACC'. (1;9)

It could be noted in this connection that already in a month's time Rūta answers the same question using the pronoun *tave* 'you'.

Table 6.5: The distribution of the accusative singular forms Rūt-/mane; mam-/tave in Rūta's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
Rūt-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	9	6	3	1	23
mane 'me'	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	1	1	9
mam-	-	-	17	1	4	6	4	3	2	1	1	39
tave 'you'	-	1	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	7

Table 6.6: The distribution of the accusative singular forms *mam-/mane*; *Rūt-/tave* in Mother's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
<i>mam-</i>	-	11	10	2	2	2	-	-	-	5	1	33
<i>mane</i> 'me'	-	2	2	3	6	-	1	3	-	3	-	20
<i>Rūt-</i>	2	-	-	3	2	1	3	4	2	-	2	19
<i>tave</i> 'you'	-	6	11	6	1	11	5	6	8	10	13	77

The accusative form of the pronoun *tave* 'you' appears more often than the respective noun form *Rūt-* in Mother's speech (see Table 6.6) and conversely, the noun form *mam-* is more frequent than the pronoun *mane* 'me'.

It has been noticed that even at the early phase of language acquisition Rūta uses the pronouns correctly (see examples below from the 1;8 and 1;10 periods); on the other hand, grammatically incorrect forms can sometimes appear considerably later, e.g., during the 2;1 period:

M: *Ką sapnavai, Rūtyte?* 'Who did you see in your sleep, Rūtyte?'

R: *Tavu* (*tave*). 'You'. (1;8)

M: *Ką myli?* 'Who do you love?'

R: *Tave, tave*. 'You, you'. (1;10)

M: *Jau pas tave pabuvo, dabar kitur nuvažiavo.*

'They have stayed at your place for a while, and now they have gone to some other place'

R: *Pas tave pabuvo* (←*mane*). 'At you stayed' (←*me*).

'They have stayed for a while at your (←*my*) place'.

M: *Pas Rūtytę pabuvo*. 'They have stayed at Rūtytė's place'. (2;1)

To conclude, the accusative case of self/other-referential items (nouns and pronouns) appear fairly rarely as compared to other grammatical cases.

6.3.4. The dative. Before analysing the use of the dative form of the pronoun, the use of the dative participational noun should be discussed in more detail. The dative case appears rather late in Rūta's speech. Table 6.7 shows that a more frequent use of the dative begins from the age of 1;10 onwards. At the same time the first spontaneous use of the dative pronoun form *man* 'to me' is attested; the two instances of *man* 'to me' uttered at the age of 1;8 were direct repetitions of Mother's words.

Table 6.7: The distribution of the dative singular forms Rūt-/man; mam-/tau in Rūta's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
Rūt-	-	-	1	5	4	6	8	17	27	5	3	76
man 'to me'	-	2	-	1	2	3	4	9	6	15	40	82
mam-	-	-	2	3	12	7	7	5	2	1	1	40
tau 'to you'	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	6	6	3	12	31

Table 6.8: The distribution of the dative singular forms mam-/man; Rūt-/tau in Mother's speech (1;7-2;5)

	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	Total
mam-	-	9	19	24	11	12	9	4	13	2	3	106
man 'to me'	1	5	9	6	3	5	4	15	13	11	18	90
Rūt-	1	5	11	12	11	18	4	11	8	8	3	92
tau 'to you'	5	21	82	69	26	33	27	35	43	48	57	446

Later, the occurrence of the dative is increasing, and this is especially noticeable in the case of the noun use. The dative pronoun form *tau* 'to you' appears for the first time at the 2;0 period. It is noteworthy that during the 2;2 period the use of the pronouns *man* 'to me' and *tau* 'to you' gradually increases, and in two months' time these forms exceed the frequency of the dative noun. Especially frequent are utterances with *man* 'to me' when the girl demands, asks or otherwise tries to satisfy her *ego*. This is seen in such examples as *man duok* 'give {it} to me', *man jeikia* 'I need it' (2;0, 2;5); *čia man Mildutė padejojo (padovanojo)* 'this was given to me by Mildutė' (2;0); *balionų man apapayt (nupirkt)* 'to buy balloons for me' (2;2, 2;5).

The pronoun form *tau* 'to you' appears less frequently; it is used when the girl wants to share something with Mother or wants to show how good she is, e.g., *čia bus šitas kamuoliukas, čia bus šitas, bus čia tau* 'it will be this ball, it will be this, it will be for you' (2;2); *dabar aš tau, aš tau mesiu* 'now I will throw it to you' (2;2); *mamyte, aš tau pastatysiu kaleliaus jūmus (karaliaus rūmus)* 'mummy, I will build a king's palace for you' (2;3); *mama, tau šitos jeikia (reikia)?* 'mummy, do you need that one?' (2;3); *tuoj, nu, paimsiu balioną tau* 'wait, I will soon give the balloon to you' (2;3); *tau čia skauda?* 'does it hurt you here?' (2;5).

In Mother's speech the pronoun *tau* 'for/to you' is dominant. A frequent appearance of the form *mam-* up to the end of 2;2 is gradually replaced by the pronoun *man* 'to me'. It is at this particular phase that there occurred changes in Rūta's speech as well (Table 6.8) – the use of the pronouns became more frequent than that of the nouns.

The dative pronoun in Latvian is used in a similar way. The form was attested for the first time during the period of 1;10, and a more numerous appearance can be noticed only after the 2;0 period. The most common form, however, is the dative form of the name, *Dainim* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1982). Approximately at the same time the dative form of the pronoun 'to/for you' appears; nevertheless, it is much less frequent than the pronoun 'to/for me'.

The two dative pronoun forms enter the speech of Russian children at approximately the same span of time, around 2;0. However, some instances of mixing up of forms are not rare, thus 'to you' often appears instead of 'to me'.

Our data, as well as the relevant facts obtained from Latvian and Russian, suggest that it is not really important when a child starts using a particular form of the pronoun, be it a month or four months later. What is important for our purposes, however, is the fact that around the same time, approximately at the age of 2;5, they distinguish consistently between the 1st and 2nd person pronoun forms and use them correctly. In view of this it can be concluded that the acquisition of one or another pronoun form depends on the child's individuality.

6.4. The Use of Non-participational Pronouns in Rūta's and Mother's Speech

6.4.1. Non-participational personal pronouns *jis* 'he' and *ji* 'she' in modern Lithuanian can replace a noun phrase; they generally refer to things, animals, entities or persons (Rosinas 1996).

Non-participational pronouns in our data are used most frequently to refer to persons or toys. The latter reference can be treated as an example of personification – toys are spoken about and addressed, as if they were living beings. In a grammatically correct sentence all personal pronouns agree with the finite verb in person and number.

The use of self-reference in early child speech determines a frequent occurrence of the 3rd person verbs in Rūta's and Mother's speech; this tendency has been evident during the period of observation. It should be noted, then, that the dominance of the 3rd person expressions is estab-

lished at the cost of the lower employment of the items showing the 1st and 2nd person reference. The use of the 3rd person verb forms instead of the 1st and 2nd in Rūta's and her mother's speech exhibit some differences: the 3rd person verb forms in Rūta's speech are gradually decreasing, whereas in Mother's data they appear at the same level of frequency (cf. Wójcik 1997).

As a rule, Rūta refers to those people who do not participate in the speech act by their names or pseudo-names (in case of family members), e.g., *močiutė* 'grandma', *tėvelis* 'daddy', *senelis* 'grandpa', *Pauliukas*, *sesė* 'sister'. The non-participational pronoun forms *jis* 'he' and *ji* 'she' appear for the first time at around 2;0 (the girl used the dative form *jam* 'him' 3 times). These forms, however, until the age of 2;6 appear very rarely: the total number used is 31 tokens, 25 of which are masculine pronoun forms, singular and plural; the latter item occurs only occasionally.

In contrast, Mother resorts to non-participational pronouns much more often. The total number amounts to 318 tokens, the masculine form of the pronoun *jis* 'he' appears 216 times. As is the case with nouns, the unmarked member in the masculine/feminine opposition of personal pronouns is the masculine gender, whereas the feminine form is considered to be marked.

6.4.2. An equally infrequent use of the personal pronoun forms 'he' and 'she' is attested in other languages. In the language of Latvian children these pronouns appear around 2;3; from this time on up to approximately 2;6 the number of pronouns used is very small (Rūķe-Draviņa 1982). On the other hand, data from Latvian exhibit the same frequent use of the 3rd person verb form, as is the case in Lithuanian. Adult language shows the tendency to use the 3rd person verb form very often when talking about themselves and others, whereas the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you' occur only occasionally (Rūķe-Draviņa 1973)²⁴.

Similarly Gvozdev (1949) claims that the use of personal pronouns becomes especially intensive in the 3rd year of life, around 2;3-2,5. At the age of 2;4 Ženia (the investigated child) does not use the 3rd person at all when talking about himself (recall that in Latvian and Lithuanian data these forms do occur). It is also interesting to note that the boy used to replace his own name with the pronoun 'he'. One of the first most commonly used verb forms in the speech of Polish children is the 3rd

²⁴ Infrequent use of the 3rd person pronouns in Lithuanian as well as in Latvian is because of the pro-drop languages.

person form. This fact allows us to believe that Polish children are equally inclined to refer to themselves either by names or the 3rd person pronoun (Smoczyńska 1985).

6.5. The analysis of self/other-reference items in terms of their form and use can be summed up as follows.

1. The use of self/other-reference items, i.e., the use of nouns instead of appropriate pronouns, is common in Rūta's and Mother's speech for quite a long period of time, right to the end of the observation period at 2;6.

2. Rūta has acquired the correct usage of *participational* pronouns first, and the usage of *non-participational* pronouns has been mastered later. The earliest pronoun to appear was the possessive pronoun *mano* 'my/mine'; the pronoun *aš* 'I' appeared somewhat later, while the pronouns *man* 'to/for me' and *mane* 'me' entered Rūta's speech last. The high frequency of occurrence of personal pronouns is related to a regular usage of *aš* 'I', *mano* 'my' and *man* 'to/for me', which are considered to be most common items for expressing speaker attitudes (cf. 6.3.1, 6.3.2, 6.3.4).

3. This aspect of usage in Mother's speech might be explained by such pragmatic considerations as her wish to help the daughter to understand how pronouns refer to herself and other people. As has been demonstrated, the use of pronouns is a complicated matter; in trying to help the daughter to avoid the problem of mixing up the pronoun forms. Mother when talking to Rūta often prefers noun forms to pronouns. The girl follows Mother's example, which explains the fact why nouns in Rūta's speech are more prominent than pronouns.

Data from other languages corroborate the fact that some frequently occurring phenomenon in Rūta's speech is not something extraordinary. On the contrary, such linguistic facts rather point to certain characteristics of child language acquisition in general. As such, they can be claimed to be universal in nature on the condition that we view as universal phenomena shared by more than three typologically unrelated languages.